

# bulletin

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THE UNITED STATES TRUST AND COOPER-  
ATION WITH THE STRONG DEMOCRATIC  
SYSTEM . . . . . 414

THE UNITED STATES OF INTERNATIONAL  
LAW . . . . . 425

THE SUPPORT OF FREE ELECTIONS IN  
THE MIDDLE EAST . . . . . 437





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## AMERICAN SUPPORT OF FREE ELECTIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE

by Isaac A. Stone

*This is a continuation of the discussion of American support of free elections in eastern Europe which appeared in the BULLETIN of August 17, 1947. The first article covered the underlying principles of the American policy and its application to Bulgaria, Rumania, and Poland. The present article recounts the application of the policy to Yugoslavia, Greece, Albania, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary.*

### YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia, like Poland, was faced as the war drew to a close with the problem of what were in effect two governments, one in exile, headed by King Peter, and the other in Yugoslavia, under Marshal Tito, which from late 1943 paid scarcely more than formal allegiance to King Peter, the chief of the Yugoslav state. On November 1, 1944, an agreement was concluded between Ivan Subasic, Prime Minister of the government-in-exile, and Marshal Josip Broz-Tito, head of the National Liberation Committee in Yugoslavia, providing for the establishment of a joint provisional government and for recognition of the legislative authority of the anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation, which body was to serve as a temporary parliament. The United States expressed its approval of the new government on February 1, 1945, stressing the latter's temporary character and indicating its expectation that "after the liberation of the whole territory national elections would be held in which the Yugoslav people would have an opportunity freely to express their will."<sup>1</sup> This was in keeping with the third principle of the Atlantic Charter and President Roosevelt's statement in his message to Congress of January 6, 1945, on the transitory character of the regimes of the countries to be liberated.<sup>2</sup>

Yugoslavia was subject to the general provisions of the Yalta declaration on liberated Europe, pledging the restoration of its independence and freedom and the holding of free and unfettered elections. The special Yalta declaration concerning Yugoslavia expressed the Three Powers' acceptance of the Subasic-Tito agreement and contained two additional provisions, one relating to the inclusion of democratic members of the last Yugoslav Parliament and the other stating that all legislation passed by the anti-Fascist Assembly of National Liberation (Avnoj) should be subject to ratification by a constituent assembly which was to be elected in free and unfettered elections.<sup>3</sup> The latter provision was clearly designed to safeguard the rights of the Yugoslav people by preventing the perpetuation of legislation enacted by a body unrepresentative of the will of the majority of the people.

A general election for the Constituent Assembly was held on November 11, 1945. On December 10 the Yugoslav Government informed the United States that "in accordance with the freely ex-

<sup>1</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 4, 1945, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1945, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1945, p. 216.



pressed will of the peoples of Yugoslavia" the Constituent Assembly, on November 29, had abolished the monarchy and proclaimed Yugoslavia a Federative People's Republic.<sup>4</sup>

On December 22 the United States informed the new Government of Yugoslavia that the latter would be accorded recognition upon giving assurances, in keeping with international custom, that it would continue to recognize the validity of its international obligations and of the treaties and agreements in force between the two countries. On the same date the American Ambassador in Yugoslavia was instructed to convey to the Yugoslav Government and people that the United States, mindful of the obligations it assumed at Yalta, had consistently made known its position that the people of Yugoslavia were entitled to expect the effective exercise of freedom of conscience, speech, assembly, association, and the press, freedom from

fear, and security of person, as provided in the Subasic-Tito agreement, which underlies the Yalta declaration, as well as the opportunity to express their will in free and untrammelled elections. The Ambassador was to point out further that in view of existing conditions in Yugoslavia the United States felt that the guaranties had not been observed nor had the elections of November 11 provided for a free choice of the people's representatives. He was also to indicate that while the United States entertained the friendliest sentiments toward the Yugoslav people, the establishment of diplomatic relations with the existing regime in Yugoslavia should not be interpreted as signifying or implying approval of the latter's policies, its methods of obtaining control, or its failure to carry out its pledges regarding the effective observance of the basic freedoms.<sup>5</sup>

#### GREECE

By the end of October 1944 the whole of Greece had been cleared of enemy troops. On December 7, 1944, Secretary Stettinius stated that the Greek people should have absolute freedom in choosing the form of government most suitable to them.<sup>6</sup>

As a liberated country, Greece came under the Yalta declaration of February 11, 1945, on liberated Europe, pledging the three signatory powers to facilitate the holding of free elections at the earliest possible time. On February 12 the civil strife that had been raging in Greece was terminated by the Varkiza agreement, article 9 of which provided for a plebiscite to be held in order to determine the people's preference for a monarchy or a republic, to be followed by a general election for a revisionary assembly.<sup>7</sup>

The parties to the above instrument also agreed that representatives of the Allied powers should

be invited as observers "for the verification of the genuineness of the popular will".

Although the Greek Government had in the meantime decided to hold the general election ahead of the plebiscite, its resolve to invite observers remained intact, and on August 20, 1945, it announced the acceptance of its proposal regarding observers by the United States, Great Britain, and France; the Soviet Union declined the proposal—in the words of the Report of the Allied Mission to Observe the Greek Elections—"on the grounds that it is opposed in principle to the supervision of national elections by foreign states."<sup>8</sup> In accepting the proposal, the United States declared on August 20 that, in accordance with the responsibilities it assumed under the Yalta declaration, it was prepared "to aid in securing the free expression, by secret ballot, of the will of the Greek people."<sup>9</sup>

The Chief of the American Delegation on the Allied Mission to Observe the Greek Elections, Henry F. Grady, was appointed on October 25, 1945, with the personal rank of Ambassador, and he was joined by a considerable staff.<sup>10</sup> Although the United States had hoped that the elections would be held before the end of the year, the elec-

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 23, 1945, p. 1020.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 10, 1944, p. 713.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Aug. 26, 1945, p. 283.

<sup>8</sup> *Report of the Allied Mission to Observe the Greek Elections* (Department of State publication 2522), p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> *BULLETIN* of Aug. 26, 1945, p. 283; Sept. 23, 1945, p. 429.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1945, p. 792; Jan. 20, 1946, p. 56; Jan. 27, 1946, p. 129; Feb. 24, 1946, p. 297.



tion date was initially set by the Greek Government as January 20, 1946, and then shifted to March 31, 1946. On March 19 Secretary Byrnes declared that the American Government had "absolutely no partisan interest in Greek affairs. It sincerely desires that the Greek elections be carried out by the free suffrage of the entire electorate."<sup>11</sup>

The elections were held on March 31. The Mission's report, dated April 11, 1946, stated that the elections had been peaceful and orderly, comparing favorably with election procedures in western countries, and that, despite the abstention of some 15 percent of the qualified voters from the leftist groups, "the general outcome represents a true and valid verdict of the Greek people."<sup>12</sup> The Mission's findings and judgment have not since been challenged. On May 10, 1946, the White House issued a statement that the Mission had "created a precedent in the diplomatic history of free and independent countries."<sup>13</sup>

One of the recommendations of the Mission concerned a "complete" recompilation of the "exaggerated registration lists", unrevised since 1936, "before the opinion of the Greek people is again sought on matters of national importance"—a reference to the plebiscite that was to be held on September 1, 1946.<sup>14</sup> In response to the Greek Government's request, made on May 10, for assistance in the revision of the registration lists, the

United States in June 1946 joined an Allied Mission to Observe the Revision of Greek Electoral Lists in order to aid in restoring "democratic procedures which have been denied to the Greek people during the past decade."<sup>15</sup> The Mission was composed of American, British, and South African members.

The Mission, in its report dated August 19, stated that it was satisfied that the revision and recompilations of the electoral lists as observed by it attained a degree of fairness and accuracy which justified their use in seeking the opinion of the Greek people in matters of national import.<sup>16</sup>

In compliance with the request of the Greek Government, this Mission remained in Greece for informal observation of the plebiscite held on September 1, 1946, although this had not been contemplated when the Mission was formed. No formal report was made, but the informal remarks submitted by the Mission to the United States and British Governments stated that unsettled conditions in certain sections of the country during the period in question, intimidation and restraint of some voters, and voting irregularities at certain polling places had some effect on the results. Such conditions were regarded as too limited, however, to have reversed the outcome, which was considered representative of the wishes of a majority of the Greek people.

## ALBANIA

Albania's annexation by Italy in April 1939 was not recognized by the United States; Secretary Hull stated on December 10, 1942, that the Balkan country would have its sovereign rights and independence restored to it in accordance with the third principle of the Atlantic Charter.<sup>17</sup> When, by the end of 1944, Albania had been freed of enemy forces, a provisional government was set up by the partisan movement, or National Liberation Front, which was leftist and largely dominated by Communists.

Albania came under the provisions of the Yalta declaration concerning free and untrammelled elections in keeping with basic democratic freedoms. An informal United States mission, headed by a Foreign Service officer, arrived in Albania on May

8, 1945, with a view to surveying conditions that might justify the reestablishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. On November 10, 1945, the United States, in its reply to the request for recognition received from the Albanian Government, made recognition conditional on the

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 31, 1946, p. 529.

<sup>12</sup> *Report of the Allied Mission to Observe the Greek Elections*, pp. 1, 20; *BULLETIN* of Apr. 21, 1946, p. 671.

<sup>13</sup> *BULLETIN* of May 19, 1946, p. 865.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1946, p. 672.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, June 16, 1946, p. 1050; June 30, 1946, p. 1128.

<sup>16</sup> For a summary of the Mission's report, see *ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1946, p. 424. The full text of the report is in process of publication.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 12, 1942, p. 908; Apr. 8, 1944, p. 315; June 3, 1944, p. 510; and for Secretary Marshall's statement of Mar. 25, 1947, *ibid.*, Apr. 6, 1947, p. 608.

holding of free elections for a constituent assembly at the earliest possible time. The note stated that for the elections to be considered free the observance of the following practices would be mandatory: exercise of secret ballot, elimination of threats or intimidation against democratic elements, freedom for all the democratic groups to enter and support candidates for the constituent assembly, freedom of speech, and freedom for representatives of the foreign press to enter Albania and report on the elections without hindrance. In keeping with established practice, the note also requested the acknowledgment by the Albanian Government of the validity of the treaties and agreements in force between the two countries on April 7, 1939.<sup>18</sup>

Nine months elapsed before a reply was received to the note of November 10, 1945. The Albanian reply dated August 13, 1946, made no mention of the stipulations with respect to free elections and declined to recognize the continuing validity of the bilateral treaties and agreements between the two countries. Elections had in the meantime been held on December 2, 1945. Although these elections had, in the opinion of a majority of observers, been conducted fairly, the Albanian regime which continued in office thereafter adopted restrictive measures against all opposition and increasingly assumed the characteristics of a totalitarian state. The United States withdrew its informal mission early in November 1946.<sup>19</sup>

#### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Failing to perceive any legal basis for the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Germany on March 15, 1939, and the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia one day later, the United States continued to accord recognition to the Czechoslovak diplomatic representative in this country. On July 30, 1941, the United States entered into formal relations with the Czechoslovak National Committee, which had constituted itself a provisional government on November 13, 1939. The Czechoslovak government-in-exile declared war on the Axis powers on December 16, 1941, and was the recipient of lend-lease aid.

American and Soviet troops liberated Czechoslovakia in April-May 1945. The United States Government made arrangements for American troops to leave Czechoslovak territory by December 1,

1945, after having learned from the Soviet Government that Soviet forces would be evacuated by the same date.<sup>20</sup>

Elections for the Provisional National Assembly, carried out indirectly through local committees, were held in September-October 1945. The primary task of the Provisional Assembly, which convened on October 28, 1945, was to prepare for the election of a Constituent National Assembly. Elections for the latter body were held on May 26, 1946. No controversies arose in connection with the election campaign, the conduct of the elections, or the outcome. The United States was satisfied that the will of the Czech people had been expressed in a democratic manner, in keeping with the objectives of the Yalta declaration.

#### AUSTRIA

In the Moscow Declaration of November 1, 1943, Austria was declared to have been "the first free country to fall a victim to Hitlerite aggression",

its annexation to Germany was pronounced "null and void", and the "wish to see reestablished a free and independent" Austria was expressed.<sup>21</sup> Following the general election held on November 25, 1945, Austria became a federal republic, to which the four occupying powers extended recognition on January 7, 1946.<sup>22</sup> No controversies arose in connection with the election.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1945, p. 767.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1946, p. 913.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 11, 1945, p. 766.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1943, p. 310.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1945, p. 1084; Jan. 20, 1946, p. 81.

## HUNGARY

Hungary had been at war with the Soviet Union since June 27, 1941, and with the United States since December 12, 1941. A new government of liberation, formed on December 23, 1944, signed an armistice on January 20, 1945,<sup>23</sup> as a Provisional National Government. Under the terms of article XVIII, the Allied Control Commission was charged with the regulation and supervision of all the provisions of the armistice, and the Commission in turn was to be "under the general direction of the Allied (Soviet) High Command."

As a former satellite country, Hungary was subject to the Yalta declaration on liberated Europe, requiring its provisional government to hold free elections on the basis of universal suffrage and secret ballot at the earliest possible time.

On September 22, 1945, the United States informed the Hungarian Provisional National Government, through the American Representative in Hungary, that the American Government was prepared to establish diplomatic relations with Hungary if that country would "give full assurances for free and untrammelled elections for a representative government and if, in the meantime, it would provide to the full measure of its responsibilities under the armistice regime for freedom of political expression of democratic parties and right of assembly, such conditions being essential to permit the holding of free elections."<sup>24</sup> Three days later, on September 25, such assurances were given by the Hungarian Government. On November 2, 1945, two days before elections for the National Assembly, the United States informed the Hungarian Provisional Government that it was agreeable to the appointment of the designated Hungarian Minister to the United States.<sup>25</sup> On December 30, 1945, Secretary Byrnes declared that the elections held in Hungary (on November 4, 1945) met with the approval of the United States.<sup>26</sup>

The Smallholders Party, having received nearly 60 percent of the votes, was given half the portfolios in the coalition cabinet of 18 members formed on November 15, 1945, with Zoltán Tildy, a leader of the Smallholders Party, as Prime Minister. The Communist Party and the Social Demo-

cratic Party, which received 17 percent each of the votes, each held four portfolios, and the National Peasant Party, with 7 percent of the votes, received one portfolio. Following the passage of legislation on January 31, 1946, establishing the Hungarian Republic, Tildy was elected President and Ferenc Nagy, also a Smallholder, was appointed Prime Minister.

During 1946 and early 1947 the Soviet occupation authorities, working in conjunction with Communist elements in Hungary, brought pressure to bear on the Hungarian Government to curtail certain civil liberties such as free expression and association and to acquiesce in the arrest of many individuals, including some deputies of the Smallholders Party, on charges of conspiracy against the state. On January 21, 1947, the National Assembly lifted parliamentary immunity from eight Smallholders deputies, and on March 12 Premier Nagy agreed to the dismissal of three Smallholders cabinet members and to their replacement by other members of the party.

In a note sent on March 5, 1947,<sup>27</sup> to the Soviet Chairman of the Allied Control Commission for Hungary (the text of which was made available to the Soviet, British, and Hungarian Governments), the United States referred to attempts being made by Hungarian Communists and other leftist groups, with the support of the Soviet occupation authorities, to subvert the then existing democratic government and "to substitute a minority dictatorship for a responsible administration representative of the will of the Hungarian people as expressed in free and untrammelled elections." As an illustration of the design to destroy the sovereignty and democratic regime of Hungary, the note cited the arrest on February 25, 1947, by the Soviet authorities of Deputy Béla Kovács, a leader of the majority Smallholders Party, in violation of his parliamentary immunity, on charges of having "actively participated in the forma-

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1945, p. 83.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1945, p. 478.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, Nov. 4, 1945, p. 734.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1945, p. 1034.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 16, 1947, p. 405; Mar. 30, 1947, p. 584.



tion of subversive and anti-Soviet terror groups" and "in organizing espionage directed against the Soviet Union." In acting unilaterally, the note added, "the Soviet High Command in Hungary has now, by direct intervention, brought the situation to a crisis." The note continued that these developments constituted "an unjustified interference in Hungarian internal affairs", stated that the United States opposed "this attempt to nullify the electoral mandate given by the Hungarian people", and proposed a joint examination of the situation by the United States, British, and Soviet Representatives on the Allied Control Commission. The Soviet authorities were also requested to take no further measures without consulting the American and British members of the Allied Control Commission.

The Soviet reply of March 8<sup>28</sup> (1) denied the American assertions regarding the designs by minority groups to deprive the Smallholders Party of their legal rights and establish a dictatorship, declaring that the Hungarian Government was threatened rather by an "anti-constitutional and anti-republican conspiracy" on the part of elements of the Smallholders Party; (2) asserted that the Smallholders Party itself, including its leader Ferenc Nagy, publicly admitted that certain members of the Party were involved in the plot against the state, and the Party had "voluntarily agreed to deprive them of their parliamentary immunity and to turn them over to the Government"; (3) rejected the American request for a joint investigation because it would constitute an open intervention into Hungarian internal affairs, a "rude violation of the legal rights of the Hungarian Peoples Court" (which was investigating the matter), and an infringement of the legal rights of the Soviet authorities to defend their occupation forces; and (4) indicated that Kovács' arrest "for crimes directed against the Soviet occupation armies cannot be regarded as an intervention on the part of the Soviet occupation authorities in the internal affairs of Hungary."

The American rejoinder of March 17<sup>29</sup> stated (1) that the investigation of the alleged plot was being conducted only by "Communist-dominated police organs" and that the Communists had re-

jected a proposal for a parliamentary interparty investigation; (2) that of the four political-party representatives who were members of the people's court only one represented the majority Smallholders Party, while the other three represented minority groups; and (3) that no charges of activities against Soviet occupation troops had been advanced against Kovács prior to his arrest, when the Communist Party endeavored to obtain a waiver of his parliamentary immunity. The note added: "It seems clear to the United States Government that minority groups under the leadership of the Hungarian Communist Party are attempting to seize power through resort to extra-constitutional tactics." Since the situation thus created "clearly threatens the continuance of democracy in Hungary", the signatory powers to the Yalta declaration on liberated Europe are, in the judgment of the American Government as set forth in the note, "obligated to undertake concerted action to investigate political conditions in Hungary." Such an investigation, it was pointed out, would infringe neither the legal rights of the Hungarian courts nor those of the Soviet occupation authorities.

By invoking the Yalta declaration in the present instance, the United States indicated that it regards it as its duty to aid not merely in the introduction of democratic institutions but also in their preservation.

In his reply of March 18, the Soviet Acting Chairman of the Allied Control Commission indicated his continuing unwillingness to change his attitude with regard to the Hungarian situation and the United States proposal.

On May 29, 1947, after the Soviet occupation authorities had precipitated a serious new crisis by producing an alleged deposition by Kovács implicating Nagy and other prominent Smallholders officials in the "conspiracy", Prime Minister Nagy, who was then absent from Hungary on vacation in Switzerland, was charged with complicity in the alleged plot against the Hungarian republic and forced to resign on June 1. His resignation was announced prematurely from Budapest, and his place was taken on May 31 by the Defense Minister Lajos Dinnyes, also a member of the Smallholders Party.

On June 4 the United States announced that the American Representative on the Allied Control

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, Mar. 30, 1947, p. 584.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 583.

Commission had been instructed to obtain copies of all information furnished by the Soviet Chairman of the Commission to the Hungarian Government. The United States is entitled to receive such information by virtue of paragraph 6(c) of the revised Allied Control Commission statutes.<sup>30</sup> On the following day President Truman, at a White House press and radio news conference, declared the situation in Hungary to be a terrible outrage.

In a note, dated June 11, 1947,<sup>31</sup> to the Soviet Acting Chairman of the Allied Control Commission (copies of which were also furnished to the British, Soviet, and Hungarian Governments), the United States referred to its previous notes of March 5 and 17 on developments in Hungary and stated that it considered and continues to consider the effect of these events as "threatening the continuance of democratic processes in Hungary." The note (1) pointed out that it was now clear that Kovács' alleged offense had to do with the same conspiracy which the Soviets had contended could not be investigated by three powers but which had in fact now been investigated by the Soviets unilaterally and has led to a "most flagrant interference" in Hungarian affairs; (2) asserted that the information alleged to have been elicited from Kovács had been furnished by the Soviet authorities to the Communist Deputy Prime Minister in such circumstances as to force Nagy's resignation and bring about the reorganization of the Government and that the United States and British members of the Allied Control Commission were kept in ignorance of this information in violation of the Commission's statutes; (3) noted that this action had resulted in the realignment of political authority in Hungary so that a minority which received only 17 percent of the votes in the November 4 election had "nullified the expressed will of the majority of the Hungarian people"; (4) protested against this Soviet unilateral action as a "violation of the Yalta agreements" and an interference in derogation of the continued exercise of democratic rights and of the freely expressed will of the Hungarian people; and (5) requested again "the expeditious establishment of a three-power

commission to examine the situation as a matter of urgency." The note concluded: "Unless this or some equally effective action to bring about adequate investigation is agreed upon, . . . [the United States] Government, conscious of its obligations under the Yalta declaration, as a signatory of the armistice with Hungary, and as a member of the United Nations, will consider such further action as may be appropriate in the circumstances."

The Soviet reply of June 14<sup>32</sup> to the above note declared the American evaluation of the political situation in Hungary to be "unfounded fiction". The Hungarian government crisis, it declared, resulted from the refusal of Prime Minister Nagy to return to Hungary and his "voluntary resignation". The crisis, according to the Soviet reply, was resolved, "in strict conformity with constitutional standards." The reply rejected the American protest as "completely baseless" and added that no violation of the statutes of the Allied Control Commission or of the Yalta agreement had taken place and that the statement of Soviet interference in Hungarian political affairs was "fiction". The note concluded that the establishment of a three-power commission would be "a rude interference in Hungarian internal affairs, which is not permissible."

President Truman, on the occasion of his signing of the American ratifications of the peace treaties with the ex-satellite countries, on June 14, 1947, expressed his regret that the existing Hungarian Government, like those of Bulgaria and Rumania, not only had disregarded the will of the majority of the Hungarian people but had taken recourse to oppressive measures against them.<sup>33</sup>

On August 17, 1947, the United States announced that it was seriously concerned over the abuses of the already restricted provisions of the new Hungarian electoral law, under which elections for the new National Assembly were to be held on August 31. The abuses include (1) disfranchisement of an estimated 20 percent of the electorate, of whom the "overwhelming majority" are non-Communists, on "flimsy and illegal pretexts" bordering on the "grotesque"; (2) the rendering futile of appeals against disqualification by according the right of review to the Communist-

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, June 15, 1947, p. 1161; June 22, 1947, p. 1215.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, June 22, 1947, p. 1215.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1216.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1214.

(Continued on page 434)

## INTER-AMERICAN CONFERENCE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF CONTINENTAL PEACE AND SECURITY

### Civil Freedom, Mutual Trust, and Cooperation Are Bases for Strong Inter-American System

BY THE CHAIRMAN OF THE U.S. DELEGATION<sup>1</sup>

I welcome this opportunity to participate with so many distinguished statesmen in the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security, under the direction of the permanent chairman, His Excellency Dr. Raul Fernandes. It gives me an opportunity to renew friendships with many of you and to meet others for the first time. May I express to you particularly, Mr. Chairman—and through you to His Excellency President Dutra—the appreciation and admiration which I, my associates, and my Government feel for the generous hospitality of Brazil in its role as host to this Conference.

While this is my first experience in a Pan-American conference, I did have a rather intimate experience in conferences with your military representatives during the war years. It was my honor and pleasure on one occasion in 1940 to have all of your Chiefs of Staff as my guests. So I do not feel quite a stranger to the proceedings of this gathering.

We are here to add to the strength of the structure for peaceful stability in this Hemisphere. The foundations of this structure have already been laid at Buenos Aires, Lima, Panamá, Habana, and

Mexico City, and we are molding it within the framework of the Charter of the United Nations which our Governments joined in writing. The frame of reference for this meeting has therefore been clearly established.

The immediate task we face at this conference is to draft the treaty contemplated in the Act of Chapultepec. In that act we jointly declared that every attack by a state against an American state shall be considered as an act of aggression against all, and we provided for collective sanction against the aggressor. This principle of collective responsibility for our common defense is a natural development of inter-American collaboration. We have been for years a community of nations, with deep traditions of cooperation and mutual respect. We turn now to the drafting of a treaty to establish a community responsibility, to defend by collective action any member of our regional group that may be the victim of aggression.

This is but one step. Our broad objectives require that we simplify and make clear the exact procedures of pacific settlement whereby such inter-American disputes as may arise can be effectively settled through peaceful means. At Bogotá in January we shall formulate the treaty designed to give effect to that purpose. This treaty, together with the comprehensive organic pact on the inter-American system and the treaty we conclude at this conference, will strengthen the principle of collective responsibility and the rule of

<sup>1</sup>Address delivered before the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security at Petropolis, Brazil, on Aug. 20, 1947, and released to the press on the same date. George C. Marshall, Secretary of State, is Chairman of the U.S. Delegation.



law in our international affairs. The results of our labors will demonstrate to all the world that peoples, and nations, who really want peace can have peace by living in an atmosphere of increasing cooperative action and good will. We all recognize, I am sure, that we are living in a sick and suffering world. By the grace of God, through the development of the strong bonds of pan-Americanism, we have been spared the horrors and devastation of the war in our countryside. Perhaps distance from the scenes of the great tragedy makes us slow to comprehend the necessities. Nor do I think we are sufficiently aware of how vastly important to the future of the Old World is the unity of the New.

The grave political problems confronting the world today are largely due to the complete disruptions of normal economic and social relations. The extent of this confusion is much more marked in Europe and the East than in this Hemisphere. Our problems are long-range peacetime problems requiring more intensive economic planning for the more efficient use of the tools of production and of the abundant resources at our disposal with which to raise the general standard of living of this Hemisphere. The resources and technical skill of private enterprise, the resources of our Government and of international agencies such as the Pan American Union, the World Bank, and International Monetary fund must be intelligently applied to the efficient and fair development of this productive capacity.

The Government of the United States of America has assumed unusually heavy burdens in a determined effort to meet the minimum economic requirements of the areas devastated by war and now threatened with starvation and economic chaos. In assuming this burden we have not lost sight of the economic problems of the Western Hemisphere. As a matter of fact the economic rehabilitation of Europe is vital to the economy of this Hemisphere. My Government will continue to take up economic questions with its sister republics and seek a sound basis for practical cooperation. Each of our countries must do its part in the achievement of this goal.

The economic problems caused by the war have developed political and moral problems in Europe and the East which cannot be ignored. We of the American republics won our freedom in the name

of democracy. We have fought for the dignity of the individual—an individual endowed with certain inalienable rights that cannot be taken from him by any law or decree, an individual whose standards of moral conduct are the essence of a peaceful world. But what is more important, we are devoted to the principle that states and nations should be bound by the same standards of moral conduct we set for the individual. Good faith and fair dealing, honesty and friendly cooperation, mutual respect and freedom of intercourse—these we expect of each other as individuals, these we should demand of each other as states. This is the basis of our fundamental belief in the equality of individuals, of the equality of states. We must reject encroachment upon the fundamental rights of the individual with the same determination that we reject any encroachment upon the fundamental rights of the state. I am confident that we all agree that the state exists for man, not man for the state—and that we abhor any limitations upon the freedom of expression of men throughout the world. For only when we have access to the thoughts of men, to the forces of public opinion free of coercion or connivance, only then can we develop a wholesome common interest while at the same time respecting separate national traditions.

We of the Americas, I think, have achieved this goal: we have no secrets from each other; we have confidence in our pledged words because we know the forces of public opinion from which they stem. We have, therefore, no fear and no mistrust in our mutual relation. We stand to all the world as an example of states striving to live in harmony, determined to abide by the same principles of moral conduct we demand of the individual citizen.

With a foundation of these principles we can have faith and assurance that we can solve the problems that may present themselves in the years to come. Today, at Rio de Janeiro, our concern is with mutual defense and security; tomorrow, at Bogotá, we shall go on to reorganize and strengthen our inter-American system and to make it a more effective agency of cooperation in the pursuit of our common interests. With good will and mutual respect for one another, both of the objectives will be attained. And the world will learn, I hope, a great lesson.

## THE UNITED NATIONS AND SPECIALIZED AGENCIES

### Summary Statement by the Secretary-General

#### MATTERS OF WHICH THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS SEIZED AND THE STAGE REACHED IN THEIR CONSIDERATION

Pursuant to Rule 11 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure of the Security Council, I submit the following Summary Statement of matters of which the Security Council is seized and of the stage reached in their consideration on 15 August 1947:

1. *The Iranian Question* (see document S/401)

[See BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 76.]

2. *Special Agreements Under Article 43 of the Charter and the Organization of the United Nations Armed Force* (see documents S/401 and S/461)

[See BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 76.]

At the 149th meeting the Council considered the Military Staff Committee's report on the over-all strength (S/394) and also decided to request the interpretation of the Military Staff Committee of the initial contribution of armed forces referred to in Articles 10 and 11.<sup>1</sup>

The answer from the Military Staff Committee on the interpretation of the initial contribution of armed forces referred to in Articles 10 and 11 of the Report was circulated as document S/408. The Council is continuing its discussion of Article 11 of the Report. At the hundred and fifty-seventh meeting the Representatives of the United Kingdom and Australia submitted proposals.<sup>2</sup>

3. *Rules of Procedure of the Security Council* (see document S/401)

[See BULLETIN of Sept. 22, 1946, p. 530.]

<sup>1</sup> U.N. doc. S/401, July 3, 1947.

<sup>2</sup> U.N. doc. S/425, July 18, 1947.

<sup>3</sup> U.N. doc. S/401, July 3, 1947.

<sup>4</sup> U.N. doc. S/440, July 25, 1947.

<sup>5</sup> U.N. doc. S/401, July 3, 1947.

At the 138th meeting the Council adopted a rule on the election of Members of the International Court of Justice. The Provisional Rules of Procedure adopted by the Council to date are given in document S/96 and Add. 1.<sup>3</sup>

4. *Statute and Rules of Procedure of the Military Staff Committee* (see documents S/401 and S/461)

[See BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 76.]

The Rapporteur of the Committee of Experts circulated his report on the Statute and Rules of Procedure of the Military Staff Committee as document S/421.<sup>4</sup>

5. *Rules Concerning the Admission of New Members* (see document S/401)

[See BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 77.]

The General Assembly and the Security Council Committees held a series of four conferences between 28 May and 12 June 1947. The General Assembly Committee then drafted its proposals and transmitted them to the Security Council Committee with an explanatory letter dated 30 June 1947.<sup>5</sup>

6. *Applications for Membership in the United Nations* (see documents S/401, S/440, S/461 and S/480)

[See BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 77.]

The Council acted upon the resolution of the General Assembly concerning Re-examination of Applications for Membership (document S/197).



It referred to its Committee on the Admission of New Members the re-examination of applications by the People's Republic of Albania, the Mongolian People's Republic, Eire, Portugal and the Hashemite Kingdom of Transjordan. In accordance with a statement made by the President, the Committee met on 14 July 1947 to re-examine the above applications and to report on the applications of Austria, Hungary, Italy and Roumania. At its meetings on 21 and 23 July the Committee considered the application by the People's Republic of Albania.

By letter dated 2 July (document S/403), Dr. Ludwig Kleinswaechter, Minister of Austria, submitted the application of Austria for admission to membership in the United Nations. At its one hundred and fifty-second meeting, the Council admitted this item to its agenda and approved the President's transmitting the application to the Committee on the Admission of New Members.

By letter dated 10 July 1947 (document S/411), Mr. Vlad Mardarescu, Chargé d'Affaires a.i. of Roumania, enclosed a telegram from the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Roumania requesting the admission of Roumania as a Member of the United Nations. At the hundred and sixty-first meeting the Council admitted this item to its agenda, and in the absence of any proposal to the contrary, the President referred the application to the Committee on the Admission of New Members under Rule 59.

By letter dated 21 July 1947 (document S/436) Prince Seif el Islam Abdullah submitted the application of Yemen for admission to membership in the United Nations.<sup>8</sup>

At its 168th meeting on 28 July, the Security Council admitted this application to the Agenda and referred it to the Committee on the Admission of New Members under Rule 59.<sup>7</sup>

The Committee on the Admission of New Members continued its consideration of applications for membership. By letter dated 26 July 1947 (document S/467), the President and Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria submitted the application of the Peoples Republic of Bulgaria for admission to membership in the United Nations. At its 178th meeting on 7 August 1947, the Council referred this application to the Committee on the Admission of New Members in

accordance with Rule 59 of the Provisional Rules of Procedure.<sup>8</sup>

The Committee on the Admission of New Members completed its report to the Security Council (document S/479). It will be placed on the Provisional Agenda of the 186th meeting on 18 August.<sup>9</sup>

7. *The Greek Question* (see documents S/401, S/461 and S/480)

[See BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 77.]

Discussion of the Report of the Commission of investigation concerning Greek Frontier Incidents (document S/360) was commenced at the 147th and 148th meetings on 27 June 1947 and continued at the 150th and 151st meetings on 1 and 3 July. A draft resolution was submitted by the Representative of the United States (document S/391). The discussion was adjourned until 8 July.<sup>10</sup>

Discussion of the Report by the Commission of Investigation concerning Greek Frontier Incidents (document S/360) was continued at the one hundred fifty-third and one hundred fifty-sixth meetings.<sup>11</sup>

Discussion of the Report of the Commission of Investigation concerning Greek Frontier Incidents (document S/360) was continued, and the general debate was closed at the hundred and sixty-first meeting. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted a draft resolution (document S/404). At its one hundred and sixty-second to sixty-seventh meetings the Council discussed the United States draft resolution and various amendments thereto. (The United Kingdom and French amendments are circulated as documents S/429 and S/430).<sup>12</sup>

The Chairman of the Commission forwarded to the Council telegrams received from the Subsidiary Group (documents S/402, S/419, S/420, S/423, S/428, S/432, S/434, S/435, S/441, S/442, S/443 and S/445).

By letter dated 23 July 1947, the Bulgarian

<sup>8</sup> U.N. doc. S/440, July 25, 1947.

<sup>7</sup> U.N. doc. S/461, Aug. 1, 1947.

<sup>9</sup> U.N. doc. S/480, Aug. 9, 1947.

<sup>10</sup> U.N. doc. S/497, Aug. 15, 1947.

<sup>11</sup> U.N. doc. S/401, July 3, 1947.

<sup>12</sup> U.N. doc. S/415, July 11, 1947.

<sup>13</sup> U.N. doc. S/440, July 25, 1947.



Political Representative to the United States gave particulars of new frontier incidents alleged to have occurred on 13 July (document S/427).

Discussion of the Report of the Commission of Investigation concerning Greek Frontier Incidents (document S/360) was continued, and the general debate was closed at the 161st meeting. The representative of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics submitted a draft resolution (document S/404). At its 162nd to 69th meetings the Council discussed the United [States] draft resolution and various amendments thereto. (The United Kingdom and French amendments were circulated as documents S/429 and S/430).

At the 170th meeting the amended United States Draft Resolution was put to a vote and received 9 votes in favour and two against (Poland and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). The President announced that it was not accepted, having failed to obtain the affirmative vote of a Permanent Member of the Council.

By letter dated 31 July, (document S/451) the Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations forwarded a communication from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Greece. He requested that the Council take up consideration of the communication and of his letter dated 26 June, which had submitted the formal charge of his Government that there existed a threat to the peace, breach of the peace or act of aggression.<sup>13</sup>

The Council continued its discussion at the 174th, the latter part of the 176th, the 177th, and 178th meetings on 4-7 August. A draft resolution submitted by the representatives of Poland (document S/464), received two votes in favour with nine abstentions and was not adopted. The Council decided to appoint a sub-committee of those representatives who had submitted proposals on the Greek Question and amendments thereto, in order to ascertain the possibility of formulating a new draft resolution which the sub-committee could recommend for the approval of the Council. The sub-committee was instructed to report not later than 12 August.

<sup>13</sup> U.N. doc. S/461, Aug. 1, 1947.

<sup>14</sup> U.N. doc. S/480, Aug. 9, 1947.

<sup>15</sup> U.N. doc. S/497, Aug. 15, 1947.

<sup>16</sup> U.N. doc. S/401, July 3, 1947.

<sup>17</sup> U.N. doc. S/415, July 11, 1947.

<sup>18</sup> U.N. doc. S/415, July 11, 1947.

New draft resolutions were submitted by the representatives of Australia (S/471 and Colombia (S/472).<sup>14</sup>

The Council continued its discussion of the Greek Question at the 180th and 183rd meetings on 12 and 14 August. The Representative of the United States introduced amendments (document S/471/Add.1) to the Australian draft resolution and also a new draft resolution (document S/486), stating that if the Australian draft resolution were adopted, he would withdraw the new draft resolution.

Letters from the Representative of Albania concerning frontier incidents were circulated as documents S/484 and S/492. Letters from the Representative of Greece in reply to previous letters of the Representative of Albania were circulated as document S/494.

Discussion was adjourned until 19 August.<sup>15</sup>

8. *The General Regulation and Reduction of Armaments and Information on Armed Forces of the United Nations* (see documents S/401 and S/461)

[See BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 78.]

By letter dated 25 June 1947 (document S/387) the Chairman of the Commission transmitted a report to the Council, attaching a plan of work and a proposal for the organization of the work of the Commission.<sup>16</sup>

The Council adopted by nine votes to none (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Poland abstaining) the Plan of Work adopted by the Commission for Conventional Armaments (Annex A to document S/387). The Council took note of the Commission's plan of organization of its future work (Annex B to document S/387).<sup>17</sup>

9. *Appointment of a Governor of the Free Territory of Trieste* (see documents S/401 and S/461)

[See BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 78.]

At its one hundred and fifty-fifth meeting the Security Council set up a Committee composed of the Representatives of Australia, Colombia and Poland to collect additional information about the candidates already suggested, and any others who might be nominated.<sup>18</sup>

10. *The Egyptian Question* (see documents S/461 and S/480)

By letter dated 8 July 1947 addressed to the Secretary-General (S/410), the Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Egypt stated that British troops were maintained in Egyptian territory against the unanimous will of the people and contrary to the letter and spirit of the Charter and to the Resolution adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1946. He also complained of British policy in relation to the Sudan and stated that the facts set out had given rise to a dispute between the Egyptian Government and the Government of the United Kingdom, the continuance of which was likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security. He stated that negotiations had been attempted pursuant to Article 33, but had failed to achieve their end. Consequently, the Egyptian Government brought their dispute with the Government of the United Kingdom to the Security Council under Articles 35 and 37, requesting the Security Council to direct:

- (a) the total and immediate evacuation of British troops from Egypt, including the Sudan,
- (b) the termination of the present administrative regime in the Sudan.

At its hundred and fifty-ninth meeting the Security Council placed on its agenda the above letter. It was agreed that the application would not be discussed before 5 August, to afford sufficient time for preparation.<sup>19</sup>

The Council commenced its discussion of the Egyptian Question at the 175th and 176th meetings on 5 August, hearing the statements of the representatives of Egypt and the United Kingdom.<sup>20</sup>

The Council continued its discussion of the Egyptian Question at its 179th and 182nd meetings on 11 and 13 August. Discussion was adjourned until 20 August.<sup>21</sup>

11. *The Indonesian Question* (see documents S/461 and S/480)

By letter dated 30 July 1947 (document S/447) the Government of India drew the attention of the Security Council, under Article 35 (1) of the Charter, to the situation in Indonesia stating that in its opinion the situation endangered the maintenance of international peace and security which

was covered by Article 34 of the Charter. The Government of India requested the Council to take the necessary measures provided by the Charter to put an end to the present situation.

By letter dated 30 July 1947 (document S/449) the Australian Government also brought the hostilities in progress in Java and Sumatra to the attention of the Council, stating that it considered these hostilities constituted a breach of peace under Article 39. It urged the Council to take immediate action to restore international peace and security.

The Council placed the Indonesian Question on its Agenda at the 171st meeting on 31 July 1947. The Council invited the Representatives of India and the Netherlands to participate in the discussion. After discussing the question at the 172nd and 73rd meetings on 1 August, the Council adopted a resolution calling upon the parties to cease hostilities forthwith, and to settle their disputes by arbitration or by other peaceful means, keeping the Security Council informed about the progress of the settlement.<sup>22</sup>

By letters dated 3 and 4 August the Netherlands representative informed the Council that orders had been issued to the Netherlands Forces in the areas concerned to cease hostilities (document S/466). A further communication from the Netherlands representative was circulated as document S/474.

By cablegram dated 5 August the Vice-Premier of the Republic of Indonesia informed the Council that his Government had decided to order cessation of hostilities. He requested a Committee be appointed by the Council to secure effective implementation of cessation of hostilities (document S/469). Further communications from the Indonesian Government were circulated as documents S/470, S/475 and S/477.

By telegram dated 1 August 1947 (document S/458), the Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations expressed the desire of his Government to participate in the discussion of the Indonesian Question. This request was considered by the Council at the 178th meeting on 7 August and failed to receive the required seven affirmative votes. General discussion of the In-

<sup>19</sup> U.N. doc. S/425, July 18, 1947.

<sup>20</sup> U.N. doc. S/480, Aug. 9, 1947.

<sup>21</sup> U.N. doc. S/497, Aug. 15, 1947.

<sup>22</sup> U.N. doc. S/461, Aug. 1, 1947.



Indonesian Question continued and was adjourned until 12 August.<sup>23</sup>

The Council continued its discussion of the Indonesian Question at its 181st, 184th and 185th meetings on 12, 14 and 15 August. It was decided by eight votes to three (Belgium, France, United Kingdom) to invite a representative of the Republic of Indonesia to participate in the discussion. A request from the Permanent Representative of the Philippines to the United Nations for reconsideration of his Government's desire to participate in the discussion (document S/485) was considered and an invitation approved by nine votes in favour with two abstentions (Poland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). A Belgian proposal to invite representatives of East Indonesia and Borneo to participate in the discussion received four votes in favour (Belgium, France,

United Kingdom and United States) with seven abstentions and was not carried.

A draft resolution was introduced by the Representative of Australia (document S/488). Amendments to this resolution were submitted by the Representative of Poland.

A letter from Soetan Sjahrir, Representative of the Republic of Indonesia, stating that the Republic of Indonesia accepted in advance, for the purposes of this dispute the obligations of a member of the United Nations, was circulated as document S/487. A telegram from the President, Prime Minister and Minister of Home Affairs of East Indonesia, requesting that an opportunity be given to them to be heard before the Council takes any decision, was circulated as document S/495.

Discussion was adjourned until 21 August.<sup>24</sup>

## Approval of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands<sup>25</sup>

### NOTE FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

23 July 1947

The Secretary of State presents his compliments to the Secretary General of the United Nations and has the honor to request that he inform the Security Council, the Trusteeship Council, and the General Assembly that the United States Government, after due constitutional process, has approved the Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands as approved by the Security Council on April 2, 1947. The action by

the United States Government in approving this Agreement was announced by the President of the United States on July 18, 1947. The instrument of approval of that Agreement on the part of the Government of the United States of America is transmitted herewith. The procedure set forth in Article 16 of the Trusteeship Agreement having thereby been carried out, the Agreement is considered to be in force as of that date.

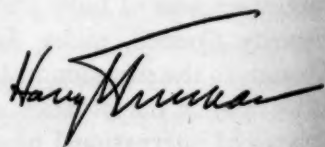
(Enclosure: Instrument of Approval.)

### INSTRUMENT OF APPROVAL

I, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States of America, pursuant to the authority granted by the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States of America approved July 18, 1947 (Public Law 204, 80th Congress), hereby approve on behalf of the Government of the United States of America, the Trusteeship Agreement for

the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, which was approved by the Security Council of the United Nations on April 2, 1947.

Done at Washington this 18th day of July, 1947.



<sup>23</sup> U.N. doc. S/480, Aug. 9, 1947.

<sup>24</sup> U.N. doc. S/497, Aug. 15, 1947.

<sup>25</sup> U.N. doc. S/448, July 30, 1947.



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<sup>1</sup> Printed materials may be secured in the United States from the International Documents Service, Columbia University Press, 2900 Broadway, New York City. Other materials (mimeographed or processed documents) may be consulted at certain designated libraries in the United States.

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## INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

### Activities and Developments

#### JOSEPH M. DODGE RECALLED FROM VIENNA FOR CONSULTATION

*Statement by Acting Secretary Lovett*

[Released to the press August 20]

Mr. Joseph M. Dodge, the American representative on the Austrian Treaty Commission, has been recalled to the United States for consultation. The reasons for Mr. Dodge's recall are fully set forth by Mr. Dodge himself in the following statement which he made before the Commission in Vienna on August 18:

"I wish to inform the Commission that my Government has requested my return to Washington immediately for consultation on the future work of the Austrian Treaty Commission. My Government is deeply concerned regarding the following conditions relating to the work of the Commission:

"1. *Actions*: Soviet unilateral action in seizing properties falling within categories agreed upon for discussion within the Commission and involving United States interests when the entire question is under consideration by the Commission.

"2. *Attitude*: The general failure of the Soviet Delegation to collaborate in the provisions of the Austrian Treaty Commission and in the fulfillment of the Allied objectives as defined by the Council of Foreign Ministers in their agreement of April 24. This is demonstrated by (a) failure actively to participate in the development and presentation of concrete facts and failure to carry out the instructions of the Council of Foreign Ministers with respect to the work of the Committee of Experts; (b) indifference toward the factual material presented to the Commission by other delegations, and indifference even to the unanimous conclusions of the other delegations, wherever those facts or conclusions are in any way in conflict with Soviet claims; (c) announcement of conclusions, without explanation or factual support, which merely restate positions set forth in the Soviet draft of the Austrian treaty.

"3. *Position*: Soviet insistence on reparations

from Austrians and others as evidenced by their refusal to recognize liabilities (debts) relating to assets, and their demand for assets in amounts and in forms other than those validly held by Germany.

"My absence will not disrupt or delay further meetings of the Commission as Mr. Ginsburg is authorized to act as my deputy while I am away.

"It is my sincere hope that real progress will be made toward reconciliation of the differences which still exist among us. There is no need for me to emphasize the importance of the issues at stake."

#### DISPOSITION OF FUNDS COVERING FINES COLLECTED BY ALLIED MILITARY OCCUPATION COURTS<sup>1</sup>

The Far Eastern Commission decides as a matter of policy the following:

Since the military occupation courts which have been appointed by order of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers in Japan partake of an international character, any fines imposed or other sums collected pursuant to orders made by such courts should be used in defraying the costs of the Allied occupation. All such moneys should be entered in a separate account and should be assigned to meet the occupation costs of the forces whose courts ordered payment to be made.

#### U.S. DELEGATES TO PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC COMMISSION ON HYLEAN AMAZON

[Released to the press August 12]

The Department of State has announced that Dr. Arthur Remington Kellogg, curator of the

<sup>1</sup> Policy decision approved by the Far Eastern Commission on Aug. 7, 1947, and released to the press on Aug. 19. A directive based upon this decision has been forwarded to the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers for implementation.



#### ACTIVITIES AND DEVELOPMENTS

division of mammals, United States National Museum, and Dr. Bassett Maguire, curator of the New York Botanical Gardens, have been designated Delegate and Alternate Delegate, respectively, to the Conference of the International Commission for the Establishment of an International Hylean Amazon Institute. This meeting, which is under the sponsorship of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), is scheduled to be held at Belém, Brazil, from August 12 to 18, 1947. Representatives of Brazil, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela, the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, and the United States have been invited to attend.

A proposal that an International Institute of the Hylean Amazon be established was submitted to the Preparatory Commission of UNESCO on April 28, 1946, by the Brazilian Representative and was approved by the Commission and by the General Conference of UNESCO at its first session at Paris, November 19 to December 10, 1946.

This meeting has been called at the invitation of the Government of Brazil to consider proposals for a comprehensive study of the Hylean Amazon region. Recommendations are to be formulated regarding the establishment of the proposed International Institute of the Hylean Amazon for undertaking a long-range scientific operation in the area. It would include investigations in the zoological, meteorological, anthropological, and medical sciences and in questions relating to the maintenance of human life and the development of human society in tropical regions. These recommendations are to be presented to the Second General Conference of UNESCO scheduled to be held at Mexico City starting November 6, 1947.

#### U.S. DELEGATION TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HIGH FREQUENCY BROADCASTING

[Released to the press August 20]

The United States Delegation to the International Conference on High Frequency Broadcasting now meeting in Atlantic City, N. J., is as follows:

##### *Chairman*

Charles R. Denny, Chairman, Federal Communications Commission

##### *Vice Chairmen*

John M. Begg, Assistant Director, Office of Information and Educational Exchange, Department of State  
Francis Colt de Wolf, Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State

##### *Members of Delegation*

David C. Adams, Assistant to the General Counsel, Federal Communications Commission  
Robert R. Burton, Communications Liaison Officer, International Broadcasting Division, Department of State  
E. K. Jett, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission  
Helen Kelly, Divisional Assistant, Telecommunications Division, Department of State  
Roger Legge, Propagation Analyst, International Broadcasting Division, Department of State  
Albert McIntosh, Assistant Chief, Frequency Service-Allocation Division, Federal Communications Commission  
Harvey B. Otterman, Associate Chief, Telecommunications Division, Department of State  
Curtis B. Plummer, Chief, Television Engineering, Federal Communications Commission  
Forney A. Rankin, Associate Chief, International Broadcasting Division, Department of State  
A. G. Simson, Consultant, Communications Liaison Branch, Office of the Chief Signal Officer, War Department  
John Tomlinson, Assistant Chief, Division of International Organization Affairs, Department of State  
Florence A. Trall, Divisional Assistant, Telecommunications Division, Department of State  
Fred H. Trimmer, Chief, Facilities Planning Branch, International Broadcasting Division, Department of State

##### *Secretary of Delegation*

Ben F. Dixon, Division of International Conferences, Department of State

##### *Assistant to Secretary*

Helen S. Norman

This meeting is the third in a series of three conferences on world telecommunications being held in Atlantic City this summer. Its purpose is to work out preliminary plans for frequency requirements of all countries for high-frequency broadcasting and to formulate the engineering principles on which the frequency assignments should be based. The conference will also consider exchange of broadcasts, freedom of information, and proposals for a world organization for high-frequency broadcasting as part of the agenda for the next high-frequency-broadcasting conference.

Department of State Bulletin

## Preparatory Committee of International Trade Conference Completes Work

### ADDRESS BY DEPUTY CHAIRMAN OF U.S. DELEGATION<sup>1</sup>

As this Committee comes to the end of its labors on a world trade charter—begun in London 10 months ago, carried forward in New York, and completed at Geneva—it is well that we should pause to consider in its true perspective the document that we have now approved; for it is possible that we may have lost sight in these last crowded days of the significance of the work that we have done.

First of all we have written the constitution of a new international organization. But we have done much more than that. We have given recognition for the first time in an international instrument to the interdependence of national programs for the stabilization of production and international programs for the liberation of trade. We have placed in the forefront of international thinking the need for developing the resources of the less-developed areas of the world. We have proposed that all nations commit themselves in a single document to extend to one another most-favored-nation treatment with respect to customs charges and requirements, and national treatment with respect to international taxation and regulation. We have asked them to reduce tariffs and to do away with all forms of discrimination. We have laid down a set of rules under which import and export quotas—the most serious of all the forms of trade restriction—can be disciplined and brought under international control. We have worked out detailed provisions to insure that the freedom that is gained by reducing visible tariffs shall not be lost by the erection of invisible tariffs. We have made the first attempt in history to apply uniform principles of nondiscrimination and fair dealing to the trade of private enterprise and public enterprise. We have made the first approach through international action to the elimination of the abuses arising from the operations of international monopolies and cartels. We have enunciated for the first time a code of principles to govern the formation and the operation of intergovernmental commodity agreements.

As we compare the Geneva draft of the charter with the London and New York drafts, we must recognize that it is substantially improved. Its

organization is more logical. Inconsistencies have been removed. Obscure passages have been clarified. Ambiguous passages have become precise. Certainly no one would contend that the charter as it now stands is perfect. Perfection in instruments embodying agreements achieved through compromise is scarcely to be attained. But the draft that we have completed at Geneva has been strengthened in material respects. And its fundamental character and balance have been retained.

Two sweeping criticisms of the charter have recently appeared in print. According to the first the charter attempts to apply the principles of impractical idealism to a world that is intensely practical and all too real. According to the second the charter has been so riddled with exceptions that its basic principles have lost whatever meaning they may once have had. Of course, these criticisms cannot both be true. If the charter were impractical and idealistic, it would give no room to the exceptions that are required to meet the practical problems of the real world. And if exceptions have been made to meet these problems, it can scarcely be said that the charter remains as an expression of impractical idealism.

As a matter of fact neither of these criticisms is true. What we have done in this document should be clearly understood. We have enunciated general principles upon which we propose that nations should agree. We have made specific exceptions to these principles where they have been required by practical necessities. These exceptions are precisely defined. Many of them are temporary. All of them are limited in application. And we have proposed that resort to them should be subject to international control. Between international anarchy in economic relations and some such pattern of agreement as we have here laid down, the world will have to take its choice. There is no other way.

On balance, in the opinion of my delegation, the charter is a document for which this Committee need offer no apologies, and we take pleasure in

<sup>1</sup> Delivered before the Preparatory Committee in Geneva on Aug. 23, 1947, and released to the press on the same date. Clair Wilcox is Deputy Chairman of the U.S. Delegation.



joining the other members of the Committee in commending it to the United Nations Conference on Trade and Employment. At the beginning of this meeting I told the Committee that my delegation would have to introduce a number of detailed amendments arising from criticisms of the earlier drafts advanced by various groups in the United States. I am glad to acknowledge that our satisfaction on these particular points is virtually complete, and I wish to thank the other delegations here for the sympathetic consideration that they have given to our requests.

In the face of adversity and discouragement this Committee has brought to a successful conclusion this half of its assignment. To the objective observer the vitality of this project, the momentum which it has attained, must be a source of growing amazement. In the circumstances the wonder must be not that we have not accomplished more but that we have accomplished so much.

If the task of this meeting were confined to the completion of the draft charter, we could now accept congratulations on a job well done. But unfortunately for the personal comfort and convenience of our delegations, though fortunately for the future peace and prosperity of the world, the task assigned us was a more ambitious one. This task included in addition an agreement to carry forward among ourselves definitive negotiations directed—in the words that we have written into each successive version of the charter—toward the substantial reduction of tariffs and other barriers to trade and elimination of preferences.

This undertaking was indeed ambitious.

Negotiations on tariffs, even when confined to a single pair of countries, are difficult enough. But here in Geneva, together with the completion of the charter, we have carried forward a hundred such negotiations in the same place and at the same time. It appeared to many of us before we began that the mere physical obstacles to such an undertaking might be insuperable. But these obstacles have been surmounted. The machinery of negotiations has been constructed and oiled and set in motion. The wheels are turning. Our disappointment is that they have not turned as rapidly as we had hoped.

Even in this, however, there is no occasion for discouragement. Each of the major trade agreements concluded by the United States before the war took from ten to eleven months to complete.

This Committee has concluded a score or more of such negotiations in the past four months. On three score more the work is well advanced. With real determination we should complete our task in the next month or six weeks. If more time is required the United States for one is prepared to give it.

The members of this Committee will be judged in the eyes of the world not only by the words that we have written on paper and sent forward to the world conference but also by the action that we shall take here and now to give meaning to those words. Our proposal in the charter to negotiate for the substantial reduction of tariffs and the elimination of preferences will be laid down side by side with the provisions of our general agreement on tariffs and trade. Our promise in the one will be measured by our performance in the other. If the general agreement is a weak agreement, we shall be accused by the 40 nations that will join us at Habana of giving lip service to the principles that we profess, and the world conference will convene in an atmosphere of cynicism and disillusionment. If the general agreement is a strong agreement, success at Habana will be virtually assured, and the world will be able to face the future with new hope.

This is the time for decision. If nations do not act now with courage and determination, they will find themselves condemned to a persisting pattern of restrictions and discrimination that will spell antagonism abroad and misery at home. This must not happen. It need not happen. Our Committee still holds within its hands the opportunity to contribute substantially to the making of a better world. It is an opportunity that we dare not and cannot permit to slip away.

Admittedly, these are difficult times. And difficult times require a temporary accommodation of fundamental policies. The United States has consistently sought to do everything within its power to ease the transition from an economy at war to an economy at peace. It will continue to do so. But it cannot believe that we should permit the difficulties of the present to obscure the urgent need for agreement now upon the policies that are to govern the trade of the world in a better future. It holds that each nation must make its appropriate contribution if such agreement is to be attained. And equally with others it is prepared to do its part.



## American Summary of Results of U.N. Commission Investigating Greek Frontier

The Department of State released on August 23 two reports summarizing the results of on-the-spot investigations by the U.N. Subsidiary Group of violations of the northern Greek frontier and describing in some detail the obstructionist tactics of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia which have impeded the work of this body. These summaries, which are based on the reports of the Subsidiary Group and other U.N. documents, demonstrate that the evidence gathered by the Subsidiary Group is impressive to the point of being conclusive regarding the complicity of Greece's northern neighbors in frontier incidents which have occurred since April of this year. It is also clearly shown that Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia have openly and defiantly rejected any cooperation with the Subsidiary Group.

The Subsidiary Group was created by a directive of the Balkan Investigating Commission pursuant to a resolution adopted by the Security Council on April 18, 1947. Like its parent organization, the Subsidiary Group is composed of representatives of all states members of the Security Council and is empowered to investigate violations of the Greek frontier. It will be recalled that U.N. investigations in the Balkans area were first undertaken early this year by the Balkan Commission, which was established in accordance with a Security Council resolution of December 19, 1946. Following more than two months' investigation in Greece, Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia, the Balkan Commission moved to Geneva in April to draft its report. During the Commission's stay in Geneva the decision was reached to maintain a U.N. group in the Balkan area pending a new decision by the Security Council. Representatives were duly designated and the Subsidiary Group held its first meeting in Salonika on May 20.

As of July 24, the Subsidiary Group had held 75 meetings and conducted investigations of seven separate incidents. Although barred by Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia from conducting on-the-spot investigations in territory of these countries,

the Subsidiary Group has collected a great deal of very important evidence on the Greek side of the frontier regarding border violations which have occurred since the departure from the area of the Balkan Investigating Commission. In the Department's opinion, the work of the Subsidiary Group reinforces the conclusions of the Balkan Commission's report that Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia have supported the guerrilla warfare in Greece and underlines the necessity for international action to maintain peace in the Balkans. The Security Council has, however, been prevented from taking any effective action to check the aggression of Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia against Greece by the vetoes exercised by the U.S.S.R. on July 29 and August 19.

The Department of State will issue shortly a comprehensive White Paper on the situation along the northern Greek frontier, which will include background material and an analysis of the work of the Balkan Investigating Commission, as well as detailed information concerning the more recent incidents in the area.

[EDITOR'S NOTE: The BULLETIN of August 24 released an article by Harry N. Howard, adviser on the U.S. Delegation to the Commission of Investigation Concerning Greek Frontier Incidents, which detailed the findings as set forth in the two reports of the Subsidiary Group. A summary of these two reports was also included in the Department of State press release 689 of August 23, 1947.]

### U.S. To Seek General Assembly Action on Question of Greek Territorial Integrity

*Statement by Acting Secretary Lovett*

[Released to the press August 20]

On August 19 the Representative of the Soviet Union vetoed the Australian and United States resolutions which attempted to provide a settlement in the Greek case. By these last two vetoes the Soviet Union has prevented any satisfactory conclusion of the case in the Security Council.

As Ambassador Herschel Johnson has stated in the Council, the United States does not intend to let the matter rest there. Accordingly, we are today taking the necessary steps to place on the supplementary agenda of the General Assembly a new item, namely, "threats to the political independence and territorial integrity of Greece". We are confident that the General Assembly, representing all the members of the United Nations, and where there is no veto, will recognize clearly the responsibility of the United Nations to take further action in defense of the territorial integrity and political independence of Greece against the assistance and support given to the guerrillas in Greece from the outside.

### **Machinery and Foodstuffs En Route to Greece**

[Released to the press August 22]

In line with the policy of vigorous prosecution of the Greek aid program, the Department of State announced on August 22 that, as of mid-August, 12 United States Army transports laden with approximately 18 million dollars in urgent military supplies for the program have already sailed, and 30,000 additional tons are en route this week.

The Navy Department has ordered six 176-foot patrol boats in from active duty for refitting at once in United States yards in anticipation of their being turned over to the Greek Government. The Greek crews who will man these ships are expected to arrive in this country before the end of August, and, after an intensive course of training by the Navy in the handling of the vessels, will take them to Greece. The ships have been selected from the line in order to minimize the time necessary in preparing them for passage to Greece.

Additional assistance to the Greek Navy is being given in the form of substantial quantities of spare parts for the repair and maintenance of their mine sweepers which have been laid up because of lack of these parts. The mine-sweeping program is of considerable importance due to the fact that Greek territorial waters are still heavily mined, only the major ports having been cleared.

The Army transport shipments include 1,000 vehicles, such as light trucks, heavy trucks, ambulances, wreckers, ammunition carriers, and weapons carriers. They also include 120 tons of

ordnance spare parts for the maintenance of these and other vehicles, 14,000 tons of nonperishable food items, and 5,000 tons of perishable foods and refrigerated items.

The survey teams of United States Army and private engineers which have been working in Greece for the past two weeks on reconstruction problems will return this week end to submit their findings to the United States contractors already named to undertake the reconstruction work. Other assistance is also being expedited with heavy steel and structural shapes for use in bridge construction already in process of fabrication.

### **Walter Wilds as Deputy Coordinator for Aid to Greece and Turkey**

The Department of State announced on August 21 the appointment of Walter Wilds as Deputy Coordinator for Aid to Greece and Turkey. Coordinator of the Mission for Aid to Greece and Turkey is George C. McGhee.

As Deputy Coordinator in the office of the Under Secretary of State Mr. Wilds will assist in expediting the work of the Chiefs of the Aid Missions. The Coordinator's office receives all problems and requests of the Chiefs of Mission and immediately focuses the attention of the Department and other interested agencies of the Government on them in order to obtain the fastest possible action. The Coordinator has immediate access to the Under Secretary, the Secretary of State, and other Cabinet members so that all problems that arise may be met as expeditiously as possible.

### **Report on First Phase of Relief Program for Austria**

[Released to the press August 20]

The Department of State announced on August 20 that the United States foreign-relief program for Austria for shipments during the period June through September 1947 amounts to approximately \$43,000,000 in relief supplies for that country. The program of shipments for the period beginning October 1 will be announced at a later date.

The program for the period June through September 1947 is designed to supply as much as possible of the basic essentials of life which must be imported to meet the needs of the country. Of

the total amount, approximately three fourths is for food, including items surplus in the United States, such as canned fish and dried fruit, and much of the balance is for coal for essential services. This is in fulfillment of the policy of procuring surplus foods wherever practicable. With calorie levels at such a low point in Austria, it is necessary to provide a very large share of the available funds for high-calorie items which can be procured at low cost.

Many inquiries have been made to the State Department as to the possibility of shipment of such items as canned tomato juice, canned citrus fruits, canned vegetables, poultry, et cetera. The calorie content of these items per dollar is extremely low in relation to the basic foods in the program announced on August 20. If such items were included, the calorie levels now existing in Austria would be sacrificed to such an extent that the current ration system would be threatened.

Because of the shortage of fertilizer in the United States, Austria's essential fertilizer require-

ments are expected to be procured from Belgium and Czechoslovakia. Some coal will be procured from Poland. A majority of the commodities, however, are being purchased in United States markets.

A breakdown of the items and the quantities of each item for the period June through September 1947 is as follows (in long tons): cereals, 186,000; soya flour, 2,000; horse meat, 3,000; canned fish, 1,180; fats and oils, 9,000; pulses, 7,300; evaporated milk, 2,000; dried fruits, 2,000; seeds, 755; fatty acids for soap, 600; coal, 705,000; fertilizer, 80,000. A total of 102,486 long tons of cereals has already been shipped.

The program for this period also includes up to \$250,000 in pesticides and \$1,000,000 in medical supplies, consisting mostly of basic drugs.

The supplies will be distributed in Austria under the supervision and control of the United States Relief Mission there in accordance with the terms of the relief agreement between the United States and Austria signed on June 25, 1947.

## Death Sentence Suspension Requested for Bulgarian Opposition Leader

### EXCHANGE OF LETTERS BETWEEN U.S. AND SOVIET REPRESENTATIVES ON ACC FOR BULGARIA

[Released to the press August 18]

The Department of State has been informed by its representative in Sofia that on August 16 the Sofia Regional Court found Nikola Petkov, leader of the Bulgarian opposition Agrarian Union, guilty of having inspired certain Bulgarian Army officers to found a military union which conspired to overthrow the Bulgarian Fatherland Front Government, as well as on certain other counts such as encouraging disaffection in the Bulgarian Army by his articles in the opposition press. Mr. Petkov was given the death sentence.

On August 18 Maj. Gen. Walter Robertson, United States representative on the Allied Control Commission for Bulgaria, addressed the following letter to Lt. Gen. Alexander Cherepanov, the Soviet acting deputy chairman of the Commission:<sup>1</sup>

"The Government of the United States of America has followed with close attention the trial of Mr. Nikola Petkov and is concerned to prevent what, on the basis of the information thus far available, appears to be a gross miscarriage of justice.

"Apart from the fact that Mr. Petkov was a signatory of the Armistice Agreement, this development is a matter of serious concern to the Allied Control Commission.

"By virtue of the Yalta Agreement, the three powers represented on the Commission have primary interest in the political structure of Bulgaria and in the status of the legally elected opposition of which Mr. Petkov was the leading member until

<sup>1</sup> Printed from telegraphic text.



he was deprived of his Parliamentary immunity for the purpose of the trial.

"Moreover, the trial of Mr. Petkov and the sentence of death passed upon him may well have repercussion on peace and order in this country for which the Allied Control Commission has a specific responsibility.

"For all these reasons I have the honor, with the authority of the Government of the United States of America, urgently to request you to instruct the Bulgarian Government, without prejudice to the right of Mr. Petkov to appeal, to suspend the sentence passed upon him until the Allied Control Commission has had full opportunity to review the case.

"In view of the great urgency of the matter, I would request you to take this action without delay in your capacity as Chairman of the Commission.

"Should you, however, feel it necessary to have a special meeting of the Commission before acting, I would request you to arrange this at the earliest possible moment and I am at your immediate disposal at any time you may fix.

"Again in view of the urgency of the situation, I request an immediate reply to this communication."

It is understood that the British representative, Col. George Green, sent a similar letter to General Cherepanov.

Major General Robertson received the following letter, dated August 22, signed by Lieutenant General Cherepanov:<sup>2</sup>

"In reply to your letter No. A-999 of 18 August 1947, I have the honor to inform you that I do not consider it possible for the ACC to interfere in any way in the affair of N. Petkov in as much as it is purely an internal Bulgarian matter. There is, therefore, no reason why the ACC should take upon itself the problem of reviewing Mr. Petkov's case."

<sup>2</sup> Printed from telegraphic text.

<sup>3</sup> Printed from telegraphic text.

[Released to the press August 23]

Major General Robertson addressed the following letter to Lieutenant General Cherepanov on August 22:<sup>3</sup>

"I have received your letter No. 2608 of today's date in which you inform me that you do not consider it possible for the Allied Control Commission to interfere in any way in the matter of Mr. Nikola Petkov in as much as this appears to you to be a purely Bulgarian internal affair and that you consider that there are no grounds for the Allied Control Commission to charge itself with the task of reviewing the matter of Mr. Petkov.

"I am informing my Government by telegram of the contents of your letter. But I feel bound to inform you that I cannot accept your view that this is a purely Bulgarian internal affair and that there are no grounds for the Allied Control Commission to intervene. I desire to enter an emphatic protest against your decision which is contrary to the majority opinion of the Allied Control Commission and to point out to you that by your arbitrary refusal even to review the matter in the Commission you have assumed a very heavy responsibility."

It is understood that the British representative, Col. George Green, sent a similar letter to General Cherepanov.

The Department of State has instructed the American Embassy in Moscow to take up this matter with the Soviet Foreign Office and is so advising the Chairman of the Allied Control Commission in Sofia and the Bulgarian Foreign Office.

#### Time Extended for Filing Shareholdings in Nationalized Hungarian Banks

The Department of State has been informed by the American Mission at Budapest that pursuant to decree no. 9000/1947 of July 24, 1947, the final date for declaration by foreign nationals of their shareholdings in certain specified Hungarian banks has been extended from September 1, 1947, to October 1, 1947. For a list of the individual Hungarian banks whose shares are affected and other relevant information, see BULLETIN of July 13, 1947, p. 96.

## Executive Report to Air Policy Commission

A survey of aviation policy from the governmental standpoint was prepared by the Air Coordinating Committee<sup>1</sup> for the President and has been transmitted by the President to the tempo-

rary Air Policy Commission. Excerpts from the report, which was released to the press by the White House on August 18, appear below:

### CIVIL AVIATION

#### Aspects of Policy Relative to International Operations

The interest of the United States in international civil aviation rests on its geographical position, its part in world commerce and its proved capacity to conduct large scale operations.

Basic policies of the United States in this field derive from the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938 and have been developed within the framework of the Government's foreign policy. As a contracting party to the Convention on International Civil Aviation, and as a member of the International Civil Aviation Organization established under the Convention, the United States has accepted certain specific obligations. These relate principally to the development of internationally uniform technical practices, standards and procedures.

Nothing in the Convention has altered the accepted doctrine that each nation absolutely controls the air space over its own territory. In fact, the Convention specifically reaffirms this doctrine. It follows that over-flight or landing for any purpose is a privilege to be granted by sovereign nations and the exchange of such privileges has generally become a matter for intergovernmental negotiation.

*Air Transit Privileges*—Multilateral exchange of the privileges of flying civil aircraft through another nation's air space and of landing to refuel or for any other non-traffic purpose is essential to the fullest development of international civil aviation. Whereas private and non-scheduled flights are granted these privileges as between contracting states under the Convention, and no prior permission for such a flight is required, scheduled international air services are granted these privileges multilaterally through the International Air Services Transit Agreement. These grants are, of course, subject to the terms and conditions of the Convention and the Agreement respectively.

The United States as a matter of policy urges nations which have not exchanged these privileges to do so within the framework of the Agreement and the Convention.

*Scheduled Commercial Operations on International Routes*—The United States believes that the general principles under which scheduled air transport operations are conducted between countries should be embodied in a multilateral agreement. These principles should cover fair competitive practices, capacity and frequency, the bases on which international traffic rights may be exchanged, and procedures for settling disputes.

The United States insists, however, that the right to fly specific routes should be negotiated bilaterally, since each route depends upon economic and other relevant factors which vary from country to country.

The United States will continue to seek traffic rights in all countries to or through which its air carriers are certificated. To obtain such rights, the United States is prepared to offer, on the basis of reasonable reciprocity, similar rights to air carriers designated by another country. Cabotage, the carriage of traffic between points within the United States or its possessions, is of course exclusively reserved to United States carriers.

*Non-Scheduled International Operations*—The United States believes that the international passenger service offered by United States flag-scheduled operators over certificated routes will prove adequate. It therefore currently limits its international non-scheduled common carrier operations to carriage of cargo.

*Competition Among International Airlines*—The United States believes that fair and regulated competition provides the most compelling drive

<sup>1</sup> For first report of the Air Coordinating Committee, see Department of State publication 2782.



toward improving service for the public. Accordingly, the United States opposes arbitrary capacity quotas, rate differentials and other practices which have the effect of eliminating competition, restricting access to markets or fostering monopolistic controls.

**Ownership of Foreign Airlines**—The United States reserves the right to refuse or revoke the operating permit of a foreign airline in the event that the United States is not satisfied that substantial ownership and effective control is in the hands of nationals whose flag the foreign airline flies.

**Disputes**—Direct negotiation by the affected nations or airlines should be the first recourse for the solution of the disagreements over questions of interpretation or application which will inevitably arise among the states, which are parties to agreements in international aviation. The majority of our existing bilateral agreements provide for reference of disputes for settlement to the Council of the International Civil Aviation Organization. The United States now believes, however, that the Council members, being representatives of sovereign states and therefore subject to instructions, cannot appropriately perform this judicial function. When direct negotiations fail, special arbitration panels or other established international procedures should be employed.

**Facilitation of International Air Travel**—The United States will work through the International Civil Aviation Organization and otherwise to facilitate air travel by expediting and simplifying customs and immigration clearances, public health and quarantine inspections, and issuance of passports and visas. We will try to ease or eliminate obstacles to international trade and travel which have been created by our own laws and regulations.

#### **International Civil Aviation Organization**

The United States supports the International Civil Aviation Organization as the agency to achieve technical standardization and economic collaboration in international civil aviation. The United States took the lead in bringing the Organization into relationship with the United Nations, thereby recognizing the role which civil aviation, through the International Civil Aviation Organization, can play in promoting international cooperation.

#### **International Use of Domestic Airports**

United States airports which are open to public use by United States civil aircraft shall be open to use by other nations parties to the Convention. The United States reserves, however, the right to designate the airports which may be used by any foreign scheduled air transport services.

#### **International Air Navigation**

The sound technical development of international civil aviation requires (a) systems of air navigation facilities and services relating to airports, communications, aids to navigation, meteorology, air traffic control, search and rescue, etc., standardized to a degree consistent with technological progress and operated under uniform procedures, extending to all areas and locations where the present or potential need for air travel of persons, cargo or mail justifies the cost of installation and operation; (b) adherence by all nations to international standards of operating practices, airman competency and airworthiness of aircraft, established to assure maximum safety in air navigation; and (c) exchange of information on civil aeronautics contributing to the advancement of the art of aeronautics and aeronautical training.

The International Civil Aviation Organization is progressing toward delineating and standardizing practices and procedures in civil air navigation. The United States advocates the fullest collaboration among nations to accomplish the goals set forth above, and will support the International Civil Aviation Organization in creating the technical standards of operation which will make possible safe and regular operations over international routes.

To the degree authorized by the Congress, the United States will continue to aid other governments in aviation matters requiring technical assistance, either through technical missions abroad or through the training of foreign nationals in this country or abroad.

#### **Joint International Support of Air Navigation Aids**

To the extent authorized by the Congress, the United States will enter into joint support programs with other nations for the establishment of necessary facilities on the high seas, in areas of undetermined sovereignty, and in countries which



are unable to provide ground aids to air navigation consistent with safety standards established by the International Civil Aviation Organization. Our participation in such programs will be limited to projects essential to the safe, regular and efficient flight of United States air carriers. Capital and operating costs should be apportioned

according to the benefits received by the various contributing nations. As it becomes apparent that the international airlines and other users of air navigation services can support the facilities through a sound system of user charges, the United States will urge withdrawal of international public support.

## MILITARY AVIATION

The menace of mass-destructive weapons, whether atomic, biological or not yet imagined, together with long-range striking forces, presents a defense problem unique in this country's history and is intimately associated with the problems reviewed in this section.

For reasons of security, military aviation policies cannot be given the full expression here which their importance deserves. But it is desirable to touch upon them and to describe their special relationship to other aviation policies.

*Objective*—The United States should maintain military power sufficient in size and efficiency to make it unprofitable for another nation to embark upon a campaign of aggression against this country. This nation's experience has demonstrated concretely that peace will not be furthered by neglect of strength or lack of foresight or alertness. Those who contemplate aggression find encouragement in such neglect. Germany and Japan relied heavily upon it. Military strength governed by the principles of tolerance, freedom and good will at home and abroad will insure peace.

*Application*—United States military power should be used in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations to insure peace and in support of our other international obligations. United States military policies stem from our desire and obligation to use our strength as a force for peace. The United States as a member of the United Nations has covenanted not to use force except in accordance with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. We must be prepared to act in defense of these principles and to do our share in assuring that other nations live up to their covenants. The President and the Congress have stated that we should have sufficient military strength to meet our world obligations.

*Military Air Strength in Being*—Since control of the air and exploitation of such control by air weapons is a prerequisite to the success of military operations, the United States should maintain, in peacetime, military air strength consisting of all the aviation forces available within the National Military Establishment in being, sufficient in strength and effectiveness to launch an air offensive which will cripple any aggression at its source. Ability to control the air and to exploit that control by air weapons requires the coordination of all of the elements of air power which include the military air strength, the manufacturing industry, air transport, and reserves of trained personnel and equipment.

Strategic planning assumes that any major aggressor, profiting from the lessons of the two world wars, would launch an early attack on this country's sustaining resources as a necessary condition to his success. It is imperative, therefore, that the United States maintain in peacetime military air strength adequate to prevent or repel any attack on this country, its possessions or outlying bases and to carry out promptly a retaliatory offensive against any aggression, wherever it may occur.

*Bases and Facilities*—The United States should develop and maintain in its territory a system of bases and facilities sufficient to permit deployment of the armed forces to meet the needs of national security. An important characteristic of air power is mobility. Provision must therefore be made for rapid shifting of bases of operation in time of emergency.

*Quality of Equipment*—In order that the military air strength may be effective, it must always be furnished with the most advanced aircraft,

armament and related equipment, provided through a vigorous program of research, experimentation and engineering development. In air combat a minor difference in performance characteristics of aircraft and related equipment usually has an immediate and profound effect upon the outcome of the combat. Therefore, successful research and development is a prerequisite to effective military air operations.

**Reserve**—The air reserve must be efficiently organized and thoroughly trained in the latest weapons, equipment and tactics, and must be adequate to facilitate a planned expansion of the military air strength in being to meet an emergency. The developments of the past war lead obviously to the conclusion that any future attack against the United States will be delivered suddenly and with great force. The value of reserves is directly proportional to the promptness with which they can engage in full scale operations. To be effective the air reserve components must be

highly trained, properly organized and immediately available.

**Transport**—The armed forces should maintain in peacetime air transport services capable of furnishing the continuing military requirement for air transportation, developing technique and methods applicable to wartime operation, and expanding through utilization of civil air carriers to meet an emergency. Air transportation was utilized extensively in the past war. With the further development of aviation, there is every reason to believe that the use of air transportation will be even more extensive in any future war. It is essential therefore that methods be developed for handling mass movements of military personnel, supplies and equipment by air and that the services performing such movements be a part of the armed forces. Further, in case of emergency or mobilization, it must be possible to utilize the commercial air transport system as necessary to augment the military air transport services.

#### American Support of Free Elections in Eastern Europe—Continued from page 413

controlled political police, by placing the burden of proof on the appellant, and by not allowing adequate time for a review of the evidence; and (3) an arrangement whereby the Communists are enabled to supervise the lists of candidates prepared by other political parties—which they obtained by pressure—a device obviously intended to assure to the minority Communist Party and its collaborators control of the assembly irrespective of the outcome of the balloting. The prevalence of these abuses, the announcement added, (1) is contrary to article 2 of the peace treaty (already ratified by the United States and Hungary), by which Hungary bound itself to take all measures to secure to all persons under Hungarian jurisdiction the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, among which is the

right to "political opinion", and (2) contravene the assurances given publicly by spokesmen of the Hungarian Government regarding the holding of free elections. The announcement stated that the American Minister had been instructed to approach the Hungarian Prime Minister and to urge him to rectify these abuses.<sup>34</sup>

By this action the United States again indicates that it views free elections as impossible without the observance of the basic freedoms.

From the foregoing it is evident that the United States, even prior to its direct involvement in the war, expressed the desire that the liberated nations should be enabled to regain their sovereignty and to acquire governments chosen by democratic elements in free and unfettered elections. This desire was manifested, for example, in the Atlantic Charter and in the Yalta and Potsdam agreements. It is also evident that the United States has consistently defended this policy through declarations, negotiations, and diplomatic protests, and has persisted in efforts to give it effect in every country to which the commitments applied.

<sup>34</sup> BULLETIN of Aug. 24, 1947, p. 392. For American protests to the Rumanian Government against arrests of opposition party leaders and the suppression of civil liberties in contravention of comparable provisions in the Rumanian peace treaty, see notes of June 24 and Aug. 5, 1947, BULLETIN of July 6, 1947, p. 38, and Aug. 17, 1947, p. 329.

## Summary of Responses by Other Governments to U.S.

### Japanese Treaty Proposals

[Released to the press August 21]

#### Australia

The Australian Government in an *aide-mémoire* of July 15 and July 23 stated that it welcomed the suggestion which it had already made that a conference take place at an early date; that August 19 was considered by the Australian Government to be a wholly impracticable date for convening a conference; that it was believed that meeting at the highest governmental level, possibly immediately before or immediately after the forthcoming meeting of the General Assembly, was essential prior to any meeting of deputies and experts; that the Australian Government, considering that each government should be free to choose its own representation, for its part would be represented by the Minister for External Affairs; and that the voting procedure suggested by the United States was acceptable to Australia.

#### Canada

The Canadian Government advised the United States Government in a note of July 22 that it welcomed the proposal for an early conference on the Japanese treaty; that it welcomed the suggestions that the nations members of the Far Eastern Commission participate equally in the formulation of the treaty and that the voting be by a simple two-thirds majority; that the proposal that the conference be convened at the deputy and expert level might require later comment; and that the Canadian Government would find it difficult to be represented at a conference on August 19 because of a conflict with the Canberra conference and so would prefer some other early date.

#### China

The United States Government was informed by the Chinese Ambassador on July 24 that China approved the proposal for an 11-power conference to draft a treaty with Japan; that, as a matter of principle, China had no special desire to retain the right of veto, but she, because of her great

sacrifices and prolonged suffering as a victim of Japanese aggression, attached greatest importance to peace settlements regarding Japan; and that, accordingly, China proposed a compromise formula of voting procedure, namely, that decisions at the conference be made by a two-thirds majority of the members of the conference present and voting, including the affirmative votes of three of the representatives of China, the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Soviet Union.

The Chinese Ambassador further stated that China reserved her position to reconsider the question of voting procedure for the conference in the event that the Chinese proposal is not found acceptable.

As regards the place for the preliminary conference, the Chinese Ambassador said that China had no objection to Washington or San Francisco, but from the standpoint of convenience Washington was to be preferred. He expressed the hope of the Chinese Government that the formal conference would be held in China.

#### France

The Government of France notified the United States Government in a note of July 29 of its acceptance of the American proposals, with the understanding that there will be a subsequent meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the 11 nations members of the Far Eastern Commission to pass on the draft treaty and to determine the manner of participation in the final deliberations of all countries which declared war against Japan. The French Government stated that it would not oppose a meeting of the 11 Foreign Ministers prior to the meeting of deputies and experts, or postponement of the proposed conference of deputies and experts beyond August 19, if desired by other participating powers.

#### India

The Government of India in an *aide-mémoire* of July 17 stated that they are in favor of an early peace conference, but, in view of their commitment



to attend the Canberra conference, they would like the date of the peace conference to be postponed until after August. They further agreed that the conference should be outside the framework of the Far Eastern Commission. The Government of India also favor the suggestion that the other states which were at war with Japan should have an opportunity to express their views while the treaty is being drafted.

### *The Netherlands*

The United States Government was advised on July 17 by its Ambassador at The Hague that the Netherlands Foreign Office had expressed gratification over the invitation to a peace conference for Japan, that Washington was agreeable as a site for the conference, and that the Netherlands would be ready to attend on August 19 but would not object to some other date near that time.

### *New Zealand*

The New Zealand Government informed the United States Government on July 16 that it favored the American suggestions regarding the composition of a conference on the peace treaty with Japan and elimination of the veto in the voting procedures; that it was studying certain other procedural questions suggested by the American proposals; but that it was believed that August 19 would be too early a date.

### *Philippines*

The United States Government was informed by the Philippine Ambassador, Joaquin M. Elizalde, on July 28, after consultation with the President of the Philippines, that the American proposals regarding a conference on a Japanese peace treaty were entirely agreeable to his Government.

### *United Kingdom*

His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom informed the United States Government on July 15 and July 22 that it would be difficult for them to be represented at the proposed conference on August 19 because of their commitment to attend the Canberra conference on August 26; that they were in no way opposed in principle to the

suggestion for an early meeting and would welcome the suggestion of a date which would not conflict with the Canberra meeting; that they believed questions of policy and principle would have to be determined first on a ministerial level before deputies and experts could usefully begin to operate and that a short initial meeting of Ministers for that purpose, which they believed need not take much time, was desirable.

### **Request Reopening of Dairen to International Trade**

#### *U.S. Note to Soviet Foreign Office*

[Released to the press August 2]

In view of American interest in the reopening of the port of Dairen to international trade, the American Embassy in Moscow on August 1 transmitted the following note to the Soviet Foreign Office:<sup>1</sup>

"The Embassy of the United States of America refers to its note of January 3, 1947,<sup>2</sup> in which it was stated that the American Government perceived no reason why there should be further delay in opening Dairen to international commerce as a free port, as contemplated by the Soviet-Sino Treaty of August 14, 1945.<sup>3</sup> As the Embassy pointed out at that time, the Government of the United States feels that it has a responsibility to American interests in general to urge that the port be established at Dairen at an early date on normal conditions which will permit American citizens to visit and reside there in the pursuit of their legitimate activities.

"Although nearly two years have passed since the signature of the instrument of surrender of Japan, Dairen has not been reopened to world trade and representatives of United States firms have not been permitted to occupy, or even to visit, properties in the outskirts of the city which those firms have long owned. While this Government hopes that the Soviet and Chinese Governments may soon be able to reconcile the differing views which apparently impede the reestablishment of Chinese administration at Dairen, it will of necessity hold the Soviet Government responsible for the treatment accorded in the interim to United States interests there. It accordingly would appreciate being informed what steps the Soviet Government is prepared to take in order that American interests may be accorded equitable treatment with respect to residence and trade at Dairen."

<sup>1</sup> Printed from telegraphic text.

<sup>2</sup> BULLETIN of Jan. 19, 1947, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> BULLETIN of Feb. 10, 1946, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> As of Aug. 21, 1947, no reply from the U.S.S.R. had been received.

**Repatriation of Germans From China**

[Released to the press August 21]

The American Government is deeply interested in assuring that key Nazis in China, who might constitute the basis for resuscitation of Nazi power in the Far East, continue to be removed to Germany. A number of such Germans were repatriated by the *Marine Robin* in June 1946 and the *Marine Jumper* in February 1947. Many of them, however, managed to escape repatriation and still remain in China. The two countries now plan to repatriate a further number in a United States Army transport which will arrive at a Chinese port in the very near future.

It is understood that the Chinese authorities have plans under way to round up and detain many noxious Germans pending the arrival of this repatriation ship. American authorities in China have for some time been in contact with the Chinese government regarding detailed plans for the project. In view of the incomplete results obtained in the case of the last two repatriation projects, the United States Government particularly hopes that full and effective measures will be carried out to insure the success of the present repatriation.

**Timely Death of George Acheson, Jr.***Statement by Acting Secretary Lovett*

[Released to the press August 20]

I deeply regret we have had to abandon hope that Ambassador George Acheson, Jr., might have survived the tragic crash of the airplane in which he was flying to Washington. Although I was not personally acquainted with Mr. Acheson, I have seen ample evidence of the outstanding quality of his work, the soundness of his judgment, and his complete devotion to his duties. Mr. Acheson was one of the ablest officers in our Foreign Service, and his loss will be keenly felt. Throughout his long career he contributed greatly to the friendly relations between the United States and those countries in which he served and to this Government's understanding of this particular field, the Far East. In his last post, Japan, he was not only of invaluable assistance in the immediate problems of the occupation but was helping lay the foundations for the future peace of the Pacific. It was to add to our under-

standing of the problems concerning the treaty of peace with Japan and to bring his unique experience and judgment to bear on these problems that he made his last flight. I am sure that those who have worked with him join me in sorrow at his death and in tribute to him.

**Mexican Professor of Literature Visits U.S.**

Dr. Ermilo Abreu-Gómez, professor of literature at the Universidad Nacional of Mexico and distinguished author and literary critic, who served as visiting professor of Latin American literature at the 1947 summer session in Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont, under a grant-in-aid from the Department of State, has been invited to speak at the Pan American Union in Washington on September 4. Dr. Abreu-Gómez will lecture on the subject "Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, Seventeenth Century Mexican Poetess".

**Military Aviation Mission Agreement With El Salvador Signed**

[Released to the press August 19]

In conformity with the request of the Government of El Salvador, there was signed on August 19 by Robert A. Lovett, Acting Secretary of State, and Carlos A. Siri, the Salvadoran Chargé d'Affaires ad interim at Washington, an agreement providing for the detail of a military-aviation mission by the United States to serve in El Salvador.

The agreement will continue in force for four years from the date of signature but may be extended beyond that period at the request of the Government of El Salvador. The provisions of the agreement are similar in general to provisions contained in other agreements between the United States and certain other American republics providing for the detail of officers of the United States Army, Navy, or Marine Corps to advise the armed forces of those countries.

**U.S., U.K. Discuss Movie Trade**

[Released to the press August 23]

Officers of the Departments of State and Commerce and members of the British Financial Delegation now in Washington met on August 23 for

#### THE RECORD OF THE WEEK

informal and exploratory discussion of the problems arising from recent action of the British Government in imposing new charges on motion-picture films imported into the United Kingdom.

The Departments of State and Commerce have been giving intensive and constant study to all phases of these problems and have been in touch with representatives of various parts of the American motion-picture industry.

#### International Organizations Enjoying Privileges and Immunities

The President, by Executive Order 9887 (12 *Federal Register* 5723), on August 22, 1947, designated the Preparatory Commission for the International Refugee Organization and its successor, the International Refugee Organization, as public international organizations entitled to enjoy the privileges, exemptions, and immunities conferred by the International Organizations Immunities Act of December 1945.

#### THE DEPARTMENT

##### Organizational Titles Changed

The name of the Central Translating Division has been changed to Division of Language Services, effective August 12, 1947.

The name of the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs has been changed to Office of Information and Educational Exchange, effective August 15, 1947.

#### THE FOREIGN SERVICE

##### Consular Services in Japan

Although no independent consular office is officially established at Kobe, Japan, personnel having consular commissions have been detailed to that place and consular

services are now being performed without regard to former consular districts at both Yokohama and Kobe.

#### Consular Offices

An American Embassy was established at Karachi, Pakistan (formerly India) on August 15, 1947. This office incorporates the former Consulate at Karachi, thus making the Embassy a combined office.

The American Consulate at Madras, India, was raised to the rank of Consulate General on August 15.

The American Consulate at Hanoi, French Indochina, established January 9, 1947, was opened to the public on August 18.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

##### Official Daily Service:



• The *Federal Register* presents the only official publication of the text of Federal regulations and notices restricting or expanding commercial operations.

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# Contents

<b>General Policy</b>	<b>Page</b>	<b>Occupation Matters—Continued</b>	<b>Page</b>
American Support of Free Elections in Eastern Europe. Article by Isaac A. Stone . . . . .	407	Death Sentence Suspension Requested for Bulgarian Opposition Leader. Exchange of Letters Between U.S. and Soviet Representatives on ACC for Bulgaria . . . . .	429
Machinery and Foodstuffs En Route to Greece . . . . .	428	Time Extended for Filing Shareholdings in Nationalized Hungarian Banks . . . . .	430
Report on First Phase of Relief Program for Austria . . . . .	428	Request Reopening of Dairen to International Trade. U.S. Note to Soviet Foreign Office . . . . .	436
Executive Report to Air Policy Commission: Civil Aviation . . . . .	431		
Military Aviation . . . . .	433	<b>Economic Affairs</b>	
Repatriation of Germans From China . . . . .	437	U.S. Delegation to International Conference on High Frequency Broadcasting . . . . .	424
		Preparatory Committee of International Trade Conference Completes Work. By Deputy Chairman of U.S. Delegation . . . . .	425
<b>The United Nations and Specialized Agencies</b>		U.S., U.K. Discuss Movie Trade . . . . .	437
Summary Statement by the Secretary-General. Matters of Which the Security Council Is Seized and the Stage Reached in Their Consideration . . . . .	416	<b>Treaty Information</b>	
Approval of the Trusteeship Agreement for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands: Note From the Secretary of State to the Secretary-General . . . . .	420	Joseph M. Dodge Recalled From Vienna for Consultation. Statement by Acting Secretary Lovett . . . . .	423
Instrument of Approval . . . . .	420	Summary of Responses by Other Governments to U.S. Japanese Treaty Proposals . . . . .	435
U.N. Documents: A Selected Bibliography . . . . .	421	Military Aviation Mission Agreement With El Salvador Signed . . . . .	437
American Summary of Results of U.N. Commission Investigating Greek Frontier . . . . .	427	International Organizations Enjoying Privileges and Immunities . . . . .	438
U.S. To Seek General Assembly Action on Question of Greek Territorial Integrity. Statement by Acting Secretary Lovett . . . . .	427	<b>International Information and Cultural Affairs</b>	
		U. S. Delegates to Proposed International Scientific Commission on Hylean Amazon . . . . .	423
<b>Inter-American Conference</b>		Mexican Professor of Literature Visits United States . . . . .	437
Civil Freedom, Mutual Trust, and Cooperation Are Bases for Strong Inter-American System. By the Chairman of the U.S. Delegation . . . . .	414	<b>The Foreign Service</b>	
		Consular Services in Japan . . . . .	438
<b>Occupation Matters</b>		Consular Offices . . . . .	438
Joseph M. Dodge Recalled From Vienna for Consultation. Statement by Acting Secretary Lovett . . . . .	423	<b>The Department</b>	
Disposition of Funds Covering Fines Collected by Allied Military Occupation Courts . . . . .	423	Walter Wilds as Deputy Coordinator for Aid to Greece and Turkey . . . . .	428
		Untimely Death of George Atcheson, Jr. Statement by Acting Secretary Lovett . . . . .	437
		Organizational Titles Changed . . . . .	438

## Contributors

Isaac A. Stone, author of the article on American support of free elections in eastern Europe, is a Foreign Affairs Analyst in the Foreign Policy Studies Branch, Division of Historical Policy Research, Department of State.